

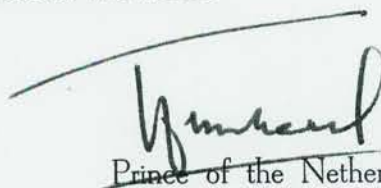
Soestdijk Palace, December 1965

Dear Mr Harris

Marge file

I have the honour to invite you to the next Bilderberg Meeting which will be held at the Hotel "Nassauer Hof" at Wiesbaden in Germany on 25, 26 and 27 March 1966.

You will find the agenda for this conference at the inside.



Prince of the Netherlands

R.S.V.P. Bilderberg Meetings
1 Smidswater, The Hague

From the Collection of
THE HON. FRED HARRIS

AGENDA

- I. Should NATO be reorganised and if so how?
- II. The future of world economic relations especially between industrial and developing countries.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

UNITED NATIONS PLAZA AT 46TH STREET NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK CABLE ADDRESS INTERPAX OXFORD 7-3131

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

15 February 1966

To the American Participants in the 1966 Bilderberg
Meeting

From: Eva Popper, Assistant to Mr. Johnson

Subject: Travel Arrangements

I enclose herewith a list of flights between New York and Frankfurt for Wednesday, 23 March, and Sunday, 27 March. You may recall that participants are asked to arrive in Wiesbaden (which is a half hour by car from Frankfurt Airport) by the evening of Thursday, the 24th.

Transportation between Frankfurt Airport and the Nassauer Hof Hotel in Wiesbaden will be provided by our German hosts. The Bilderberg Secretariat office in The Hague asks that you notify them of your arrival time so that the proper arrangements can be made to meet you at the airport. A card for that purpose is enclosed with the "Notice to Participants." I should be grateful if you would also let me know of your travel plans in case there is any slip-up between this side of the ocean and The Hague.

Participants generally make their own airline reservations for travel to and from the place of the meeting, but please do not hesitate to get in touch with me if I can be of any assistance to you. *

Enclosure

- * NOTE: In view of the fact that the Endowment is paying your round-trip fare, I have asked our travel agency, First National City Bank Travel Service in New York, to get in touch with you to make your reservations.

From the Collection of
THE HON. FRED HARRIS



FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK

TRAVEL SERVICE

399 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

VIA AIR MAIL

IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE

March 17, 1966

*Marge
file*

Miss M. Banner
Old Senate Office Building
Room 254
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Miss Banner:

Enclosed ticket for Senator Fred R. Harris is being forwarded to you at the request of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to call me on 212 559-6771.

Very truly yours,

John J. Clarke
John J. Clarke

JJC/mp

Enclosure

From the Collection of
THE HON. FRED HARRIS

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

UNITED NATIONS PLAZA AT 46TH STREET NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK CABLE ADDRESS INTERPAX OXFORD 7-3131

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

14 March 1966

To the American Participants in the 1966
Bilderberg Meeting

From: Joseph E. Johnson

In the past, it has been our custom to have Under Secretary of State George W. Ball, who is the ranking member of the American delegation, brief the American participants prior to the first formal session on the US position on the topics to be discussed at the meeting.

Mr. Ball has agreed to do so again this year, and we have accordingly scheduled a session of the American group at 8:00 a.m. on Friday, 25 March in Mr. Arthur H. Dean's suite at the Nassauer Hof Hotel. I understand that not all of the Americans will have arrived at the Hotel by that time and will therefore have to miss the briefing, but those who have not yet completed their travel arrangements may wish to take this into account in making their plans.

From the Collection of
THE HON. FRED HARRIS

REC'D MAR 16 1966

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

UNITED NATIONS PLAZA AT 46TH STREET NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK CABLE ADDRESS INTERPAX OXFORD 7-3131

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

15 March 1966

Dear Senator Harris:

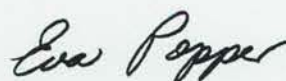
In Mr. Johnson's absence from the office, I am taking the liberty of acknowledging receipt of your telegram advising him that you will be able to attend the Bilderberg Meeting in Wiesbaden later this month. I know that Mr. Johnson and the other members of the American Steering Committee will be very glad to hear this good news, and will look forward to meeting you there.

I enclose for your information the background papers and other documents for the meeting, including a provisional list of participants, a "Notice to Participants," a memorandum on travel arrangements, some additional reading material, and a memorandum from Mr. Johnson concerning a preliminary meeting of the American group on the morning of the first formal meeting. I am cabling the Bilderberg Secretariat office today to ask that a formal invitation be sent to you from the Prince.

If you have any questions about any of the enclosed papers, or if I can be of assistance to you in any way in connection with your participation in the meeting, I hope you will not hesitate to get in touch with me. I shall be here through the afternoon of the 21st.

Looking forward to meeting you in Wiesbaden, I am

Sincerely yours,



Eva Popper
Assistant to the President

The Hon. Fred R. Harris
1251 New Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

Enclosures

From the Collection of
THE HON. FRED HARRIS

Meetings 2-1

Marge file

March 14, 1966

Marge

Mr. Joseph E. Johnson, President
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
United Nations Plaza at 46th Street
New York, New York

I AM HONORED TO ACCEPT YOUR INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE
IN WIESBADEN, GERMANY, ON THE WEEKEND OF MARCH 25-27. I LOOK FORWARD
TO RECEIVING BACKGROUND PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS AND MORE DETAILS.

FRED R. HARRIS
U. S. Senate

FRH:mb
Official

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

UNITED NATIONS PLAZA AT 46TH STREET NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK CABLE ADDRESS INTERPAX OXFORD 7-3131

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

7 March 1966

REC'D MAR 9 1966

Dear Senator Harris:

You may have heard from some of your colleagues in the Senate, or through press reports, about the Bilderberg Meetings, the private and unofficial meetings of prominent individuals from Western Europe, the United States and Canada, which are chaired by Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands.

The purpose of this letter is to extend to you, on behalf of the American Steering Committee of the Bilderberg Meetings (whose co-chairmen are Arthur H. Dean and H. J. Heinz II), an informal invitation to join us for the next conference, which is to be held in Wiesbaden, Germany, on the weekend of 25-27 March. The agenda for the meeting will consist of two topics: (1) Should NATO be reorganized, and if so, how? and (2) The future of world economic relations, especially between industrial and developing countries.

The enclosed booklet will give you some information on the background and purposes of the Bilderberg Meetings, as well as the names of some of those who have participated in previous meetings, among whom I am sure you will notice many familiar names. Congressional colleagues who have attended these conferences since the booklet was printed include Senators Fulbright, Jackson and Javits, and Representatives Bolling, Brademas, Ford, and Reuss, any of whom would, I should think, be able to give you some of the flavor of the meetings. Indeed, Senator Jackson, who was invited again for this year's meeting, expressed great interest in the conference but for personal reasons had to decline our invitation.

If, as I very much hope, you are able to come, you will receive a formal invitation from the Prince. The background papers and other documents for the meeting will be sent to you as soon as we receive your acceptance.

To help you in making your plans, you may want to know that participants are expected to arrive in Wiesbaden (a half hour by car from

The Hon. Fred R. Harris
1251 New Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

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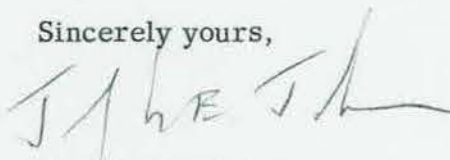
Frankfurt Airport) in time for dinner on Thursday, the 24th, so that the meeting can begin promptly on Friday morning. The meeting ends after lunch on Sunday, the 27th.

I should also add that the Carnegie Endowment has funds available to pay for round-trip transportation to Frankfurt (jet economy class).

Would you please let me know as soon as possible whether you think you will be able to come, barring emergencies. Please don't hesitate to get in touch with me if you would like any additional information or have any specific questions you would like answered.

Looking forward to hearing from you, hopefully in the affirmative, I am, with kind regards,

Sincerely yours,



Handwritten signature of Joseph E. Johnson in cursive script.

Joseph E. Johnson

Enclosure

This is a photocopy of materials held by the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center Congressional Archives, University of Oklahoma, Monnet Hall, Room 202, 630 Parrington Oval, Norman, Oklahoma 73019-4031.

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

6 p.m.

Senator,

Dean Thurman White called to speak to Bill, and when I told him about your going to Germany tomorrow, he said to give you this message.

Says they are going to have a Bachelor of Liberal Studies Seminar at Wiesbaden this summer and Carlton Berenda and Cecil Lee will go there Aug. 1 through 19th for this purpose. Mr. Beakes is the Educational Officer for the Air Force who knows about this. Dean White thought you might have a chance to ask how the seminars are coming!

I told him I would give you this message. Attached is memo Bill received today on this should you run into any one you can mention this to.

mb

margl
file

From the Collection of
THE HON. FRED HARRIS



SCHOOL OF
CONTINUING EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

NORMAN, OKLAHOMA, 73069

March 18, 1966

Dr. William R. Carmack
Administrative Assistant
U. S. Senator Fred Harris
Old Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

In this morning's paper I noticed that Senator Harris will be visiting Wiesbaden, Germany in a few weeks. It occurred to me that he might want to know of the University of Oklahoma's connection there. As you know, Headquarters USAF is located in Wiesbaden. The University of Oklahoma has a cooperative arrangement with Dr. K. Douglas Beakes, Chief of Education in the Directorate of Personnel. More than 45 students from military bases under Beakes' supervision are enrolled in the program. Carlton Berenda and Cecil Lee will go to Wiesbaden August 1 through 19 for a BLS seminar in the Humanities.

It was good to see you in Norman this week. Sorry we didn't get to visit a little longer. All the best.

Sincerely yours,

J. E. Burkett
J. E. Burkett
Assistant Dean

JEB:dew
AIR MAIL

22 668

do time

W. Germany

Italy

France

France

US

UK

Turkey.

Switzerland

Belgium

Canada

Sweden

Norway

Denmark

Netherlands

Portugal

Prominent
representatives
from 15 Atlantic
community
countries,
including
Chancellor Ludwig
Erhard of the
Federal West Germany.

George W. Ball

Under Secretary of State

David S. Bell, administrator

AID

The Conference is sponsored by

Senator Harris is a member
of the Senate Subcommittee on National
Security and International Operations,
now engaged in study of the North
Atlantic Treaty Organization, Subcommittee
Chairman

From the Collection of
THE HON. FRED HARRIS

URGENT

IMPORTANT



INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

Conference

The Conference will begin on Friday at 10.a.m.

Meeting Rooms

The conference room, the dining rooms and the bar are all located on the ground floor; the Steering Committee room and the Secretariat are on the first floor.

Meals

Breakfast, lunch and dinner will be served in the dining room (on request breakfast will also be served in the rooms).

List of participants

Enclosed you will find two lists of participants, one in alphabetical order and one by country.

Badges

You are urgently requested to wear the enclosed badge during the entire conference in order to indicate your identity and therefore avoid inconvenience.

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Agenda

As mentioned in the invitation, the agenda for the conference at Wiesbaden runs as follows:

- 1.) Should NATO be reorganised and if so how?
- 2.) The future of world economic relations especially between industrial and developing countries.

Introductory papers

Two introductory papers, one drafted by Mr. Robert E. Bowie on the first item of the agenda and another one written by Mr. Jan Tinbergen on the second item, have been mailed to you at an earlier date.

Private expenses

Participants are kindly requested to sign (name and room number) or pay cash for all orders outside full board, such as drinks, telephone calls, telegrams, cables, laundry, etc.

Change

The hall porter will provide all facilities for currency exchange.

Religious services

The hotel porter will provide you with all information concerning religious services.

Transport and return journey

For all problems of transport and especially for your return journey, you are advised to contact the travel

- 3 -

desk in the hall. In order to facilitate the arrangements for your departure you are requested to fill in the attached form and to hand it in at the desk as soon as possible. This also applies to participants leaving by private planes or other means of transport.

You are reminded that all Bilderberg discussions are strictly confidential and that no information should be given to the press or television with regard to the proceedings of the meeting.

Wiesbaden, March 24, 1966

BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Wiesbaden Conference
25, 26 and 27 March 1966

PROVISIONAL LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands
Chairman

Ernst H. van der Beugel
Director of Companies
Honorary Secretary General for Europe

Joseph E. Johnson
President Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Honorary Secretary General for the United States

Johannes Meynen
Managing Director AKU
Honorary Treasurer

Arnold T. Lamping
Former Ambassador
Deputy Secretary General for Europe

ABS, Hermann J. Chairman of the Board "Deutsche Bank"	Germany
AGNELLI, Giovanni Vice Chairman of the Board and Managing Director FIAT Company	Italy
ARLIOTIS, Charles C. Chairman and Governor National Mortgage Bank of Greece	Greece
ARON, Raymond Journalist and University Professor	France
BALL, George W. Under Secretary of State	United States
BARZEL, Rainer Member of Parliament, Floor Leader of the Christian Democratic Party	Germany
BAUMGARTNER, Wilfrid S. Former Minister of Finance, President "Rhône-Poulenc S.A."	France
BELL, David E. Administrator Agency for International Development	United States
BENNETT, Sir Frederic Member of Parliament	United Kingdom
BERG, Fritz President Federation of German Industries	Germany
BIRGI, M. Nuri Ambassador to NATO	Turkey

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BIRRENBACH, Kurt Member of Parliament	Germany
BOVERI, Walter E. Chairman Brown Boveri	Switzerland
BOWIE, Robert R. Director Center for International Affairs, Harvard University	United States
BROSIO, Manlio Secretary General of NATO	International
BRZEZINSKI, Zbigniew Professor of Government, Columbia University	United States
CAMU, Louis President of the "Banque de Bruxelles"	Belgium
COLLADO, Emilio G. Vice President Standard Oil Co. (N.J.)	United States
COOL, Auguste P. President "Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens de Belgique"	Belgium
DAVIDSON DUNTON, Arnold President and Vice Chancellor Carleton University	Canada
DEAN, Arthur H. Senior Partner Sullivan and Cromwell	United States
ERLANDER, Tage F. Prime Minister	Sweden
ERHARD, Ludwig Chancellor of the Federal Republic	Germany
ERLER, Fritz Member of Parliament, Floor Leader of the Socialist Party	Germany
FARIBAULT, Marcel President "Trust Général du Canada"	Canada
FAYAT, Henri Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs	Belgium
GILPATRIC, Roswell L. Lawyer, Former Deputy Secretary of Defense	United States
GRIFFIN, Anthony G.S. Banker	Canada
HAUGE, Gabriel President Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.	United States
HEALEY, Denis W. Secretary of State for Defence	United Kingdom
HEATH, Edward R.G. Member of Parliament, Leader of the Opposition	United Kingdom
HEINZ II., Henry J. Chairman of the Board Heinz Co.	United States
HØEGH, Leif Shipowner	Norway

-3-

HOLIFIELD, Chet Congressman	United States
JONES, Thomas V. President and Chairman of the Board Northrop	United States
KLEINWORT, Cyril Banker	United Kingdom
KNUDTZON, Harald General Manager "Den Danske Landmandsbank"	Denmark
KRAG, Jens Otto Prime Minister	Denmark
KYMMEL, Jaap Banker, Professor of International Economic Relations	Netherlands
LA MALFA, Ugo Member of Parliament, President Commission for the Budget	Italy
LANGE, Halvard Former Minister of Foreign Affairs	Norway
LECANUET, Jean Senator, President "Centre Démocrate"	France
LUNS, Joseph M.A.H. Minister of Foreign Affairs	Netherlands
MALAGODI, Giovanni F. Member of Parliament, Secretary General Liberal Party	Italy
MALFATTI, Francesco Diplomatic Adviser to the President	Italy
MASON, Edward S. Lamont University Professor, Harvard University	United States
McCLOY, John J. Lawyer and Diplomat	United States
McCORMACK, James Vice President Massachusetts Institute of Technology	United States
McGHEE, George C. Ambassador to the German Federal Republic	United States
MERKLE, Hans Chairman of the Board Robert Bosch	Germany
MORSE, F. Bradford Congressman	United States
MURPHY, Robert D. President Corning Glass International	United States
NYKOPP, Johan Former Ambassador, President Tampella	Finland
PEDINI, Mario Member of Parliament, Member of European Parliament	Italy
PETERSON, Rudolph A. President and Chief Executive Officer Bank of America	United States

-4-

PETRILLI, Giuseppe President I.R.I.	Italy
PREBISCH, Raul Secretary General of UNCTAD	International
— REUTHER, Walter P. President United Automobile Workers	United States
— ROCKEFELLER, David President Chase Manhattan Bank	United States
SCHILLER, Karl Member of Parliament	Germany
SCHMID, Carlo Vice President Federal Parliament	Germany
— SCHMIDT, Helmut Member of Parliament	Germany
SCHRÖDER, Gerhard Minister of Foreign Affairs	Germany
SCHWARZ, Urs Journalist	Switzerland
SILVA, Manuel R. Espirito Santo Banker	Portugal
SNOY et d'OPPUERS, Baron Managing Partner "Banque Lambert"	Belgium
SPAAK, Paul-Henri Minister of Foreign Affairs	Belgium
— SPOFFORD, Charles M. Lawyer and Diplomat	United States
STOLTENBERG, Gerhard Minister for Science and Research	Germany
— STONE, Shepard Director International Affairs Program, Ford Foundation	United States
TAVERNE, Dick Member of Parliament	United Kingdom
TERKELSEN, Terkel M. Chief Editor "Berlingske Tidende"	Denmark
TINBERGEN, J. Professor of Economics	Netherlands
TUTHILL, John W. U.S. Representative to the European Communities	United States
VITTORELLI, Paolo Senator	Italy
— WALLENBERG, Marcus President International Chamber of Commerce	Sweden
WHEELER, Charles R. Chairman Associated Electrical Industries	United Kingdom
WILLOCH, Kaare Minister of Commerce and Shipping	Norway
WINTERS, R.H. Minister of Trade and Commerce	Canada

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WOLFF von AMERONGEN, Otto Senior Partner Otto Wolff Köln	Germany
—WOODS, George D. President International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	International
WYNDHAM WHITE, Eric Director General GATT	International
ZIJLSTRA, Jelle Professor of Economic Sciences	Netherlands

The Hague, 22 February 1966

P.S.

In case elections in the United Kingdom should prevent the British Members of Parliament mentioned above from attending the Conference, other persons from the United Kingdom will be invited whose names will be mentioned in the definite List of Participants.

BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Wiesbaden Conference

25, 26 and 27 March 1966

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Chairman

Ernst H. van der Beugel

Honorary Secretary General for Europe

Joseph E. Johnson

Honorary Secretary General for the
United States

Johannes Meynen

Honorary Treasurer

Arnold T. Lamping

Deputy Secretary General for Europe

AUSTRIA

PORTISCH, Hugo

BELGIUM

CAMU, Louis

COOL, Auguste P.

SNOY et d'OPPLERS, Baron

CANADA

CADIEUX, Marcel

DAVIDSON DUNTON, Arnold

PARIBAUT, Marcel

GRIFFIN, Anthony G.S.

DENMARK

KNUDTZON, Harald

KRAG, Jens Otto

TERKILSEN, Terrel M.

FINLAND

NYKOPP, Johan

FRANCE

ARON, Raymond
 BAUMGARTNER, Wilfrid S.
 DUHAMEL, Jacques
 GEORGES-PICOT, Jacques M.G.
 LECANUET, Jean
 LIPKOWSKI, Jean de

GERMANY

ABS, Hermann J.
 BARZEL, Rainer
 BERG, Fritz
 BIRKENBACH, Kurt
 ERHARD, Ludwig
 ERLER, Fritz
 MERKLE, Hans L.
 SCHMID, Carlo
 SCHMIDT, Helmut
 STOLTENBERG, Gerhard
 WOLFF von AMERONGEN, Otto

ICELAND

THORODDSEN, Gunnar

INTERNATIONAL
ORGANISATIONS

BROSIO, Manlio
 WOODS, George D.
 WYNDHAM WHITE, Eric

ITALY

AGNELLI, Giovanni
 BASSETTI, Piero
 LA MALFA, Ugo
 MALFATTI, Franco M.
 PEDINI, Mario
 PETRILLI, Giuseppe
 VITTORELLI, Paolo

NETHERLANDS	KYMMELL, Jaap LUNS, Joseph M.A.H. TINBERGEN, Jan ZIJLSTRA, Jelle
NORWAY	HØEGH, Leif LANGE, Halvard WILLOCH, Kaare
PORTUGAL	ESPIRITO SANTO SILVA, Manuel R.
SWEDEN	WALLENBERG, Marcus
SWITZERLAND	SCHWARZ, Urs
TURKEY	BIRGI, M. Nuri
UNITED KINGDOM	BENNETT, Sir Frederic BUCHAN, The Hon. Alastair COHEN, Sir Andrew DUCHENE, Louis-François KEEINWORT, Cyril O'NEILL, Sir Con ROLL, Sir Eric WHEELER, Charles R.
UNITED STATES	BALL, George W. BELL, David E. BOWIE, Robert R. BRZEZINSKI, Zbigniew COLLADO, Emilio G. DEAN, Arthur H. FRANKEL, Max GILPATRICK, Roswell L.

UNITED STATES
(cont'd)

HARRIS, Fred R.
HAUGE, Gabriel
HEINZ II, Henry J.
HOLIFIELD, Chet
JONES, Thomas V.
MASON, Edward S.
McCLOY, John J.
McCORMACK, James
McGHEE, George C.
MORSE, F. Bradford
MURPHY, Robert D.
PETERSON, Rudolph A.
REUTHER, Walter P.
ROCKEFELLER, David
SPOFFORD, Charles M.
STONE, Shepard
TUTHILL, John W.

BILDERBERG MEETING

*

WIESBADEN

25, 26 and 27 March 1966

*

NOTICE TO PARTICIPANTS

~~Handwritten signature~~

From the Collection of
THE HON. FRED HARRIS

Collection _____ Series _____ Box 30 Folder 31

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BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Wiesbaden Conference

25, 26 and 27 March 1966

ADDITION TO PROVISIONAL LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

As a result of the elections in the United Kingdom Mr. Healey, Mr. Heath and Mr. Taverne will be prevented to attend the Wiesbaden Conference. The following persons from the United Kingdom should, however, be added to the "Provisional List of Participants":

BUCHAN, Alastair

Director Institute for Strategic Studies

COHEN, Sir Andrew

Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Overseas Development

DUCHÈNE, Louis-François

Journalist

O'NEILL, Sir Con

Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Office

ROLL, Sir Eric

Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Department of
Economic Affairs

From the Collection of
THE HON. FRED HARRIS

Collection _____ Series _____ Box 30 Folder 31

Stella, for filing. Thanks. mb

With the Compliments of

JOSEPH E. JOHNSON

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE UNITED STATES
BILDERBERG MEETINGS

E.
ER 1
11 20 66
BILDERMEETINGS

Senator

20 October 1966

Confidential

*marge
file NATO*

Dear Sir,

I have pleasure in enclosing a copy of the summary of the Bilderberg Conference held at Wiesbaden, Germany, on 25, 26 and 27 March 1966, together with copies of the speeches of Sir Andrew Cohen, Prof. Mason, Mr. Woods and Mr. Bell, held during the Conference.

I may remind you of the personal and strictly confidential character of these summaries.

If you wish, for future correspondence, any changes in the way Bilderberg correspondence is sent to you (title, name, function, address) you are kindly requested to inform the Secretariat of the modifications you may desire, if possible in a short delay.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

C. Lamping

Arnold T. Lamping

From the Collection of
THE HON. FRED HARRIS

BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Wiesbaden Conference
25, 26 and 27 March 1966

PROVISIONAL LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands
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Ernst H. van der Beugel
Director of Companies
Honorary Secretary General for Europe

Joseph E. Johnson
President Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Honorary Secretary General for the United States

Johannes Meynen
Managing Director AKU
Honorary Treasurer

Arnold T. Lamping
Former Ambassador
Deputy Secretary General for Europe

ABS, Hermann J. Chairman of the Board "Deutsche Bank"	Germany
AGNELLI, Giovanni Vice Chairman of the Board and Managing Director FIAT Company	Italy
ARLIOTIS, Charles C. Chairman and Governor National Mortgage Bank of Greece	Greece
ARON, Raymond Journalist and University Professor	France
BALL, George W. Under Secretary of State	United States
BARZEL, Rainer Member of Parliament, Floor Leader of the Christian Democratic Party	Germany
BAUMGARTNER, Wilfrid S. Former Minister of Finance, President "Rhône-Poulenc S.A."	France
BELL, David E. Administrator Agency for International Development	United States
BENNETT, Sir Frederic Member of Parliament	United Kingdom
BERG, Fritz President Federation of German Industries	Germany
BIRGI, M. Nuri Ambassador to NATO	Turkey

-2-

BIRRENBACH, Kurt Member of Parliament	Germany
BOVERI, Walter E. Chairman Brown Boveri	Switzerland
BOWIE, Robert R. Director Center for International Affairs, Harvard University	United States
BROSIO, Manlio Secretary General of NATO	International
BRZEZINSKI, Zbigniew Professor of Government, Columbia University	United States
CAMU, Louis President of the "Banque de Bruxelles"	Belgium
COLLADO, Emilio G. Vice President Standard Oil Co. (N.J.)	United States
COOL, Auguste P. President "Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens de Belgique"	Belgium
DAVIDSON DUNTON, Arnold President and Vice Chancellor Carleton University	Canada
DEAN, Arthur H. Senior Partner Sullivan and Cromwell	United States
ERLANDER, Tage F. Prime Minister	Sweden
ERHARD, Ludwig Chancellor of the Federal Republic	Germany
ERLER, Fritz Member of Parliament, Floor Leader of the Socialist Party	Germany
FARIBAULT, Marcel President "Trust Général du Canada"	Canada
FAYAT, Henri Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs	Belgium
GILPATRIC, Roswell L. Lawyer, Former Deputy Secretary of Defense	United States
GRIFFIN, Anthony G.S. Banker	Canada
HAUGE, Gabriel President Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.	United States
HEALEY, Denis W. Secretary of State for Defence	United Kingdom
HEATH, Edward R.G. Member of Parliament, Leader of the Opposition	United Kingdom
HEINZ II, Henry J. Chairman of the Board Heinz Co.	United States
HØEGH, Leif Shipowner	Norway

-3-

HOLIFIELD, Chet Congressman	United States
JONES, Thomas V. President and Chairman of the Board Northrop	United States
KLEINWORT, Cyril Banker	United Kingdom
KNUDTZON, Harald General Manager "Den Danske Landmandsbank"	Denmark
KRAG, Jens Otto Prime Minister	Denmark
KYMMEL, Jaap Banker, Professor of International Economic Relations	Netherlands
LA MALFA, Ugo Member of Parliament, President Commission for the Budget	Italy
LANGE, Halvard Former Minister of Foreign Affairs	Norway
LECANUET, Jean Senator, President "Centre Démocrate"	France
LUNS, Joseph M.A.H. Minister of Foreign Affairs	Netherlands
MALAGODI, Giovanni F. Member of Parliament, Secretary General Liberal Party	Italy
MALFATTI, Francesco Diplomatic Adviser to the President	Italy
MASON, Edward S. Lamont University Professor, Harvard University	United States
McCLOY, John J. Lawyer and Diplomat	United States
McCORMACK, James Vice President Massachusetts Institute of Technology	United States
McGHEE, George C. Ambassador to the German Federal Republic	United States
MERKLE, Hans Chairman of the Board Robert Bosch	Germany
MORSE, F. Bradford Congressman	United States
MURPHY, Robert D. President Corning Glass International	United States
NYKOPP, Johan Former Ambassador, President Tampella	Finland
PEDINI, Mario Member of Parliament, Member of European Parliament	Italy
PETERSON, Rudolph A. President and Chief Executive Officer Bank of America	United States

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PETRILLI, Giuseppe President I.R.I.	Italy
PREBISCH, Raul Secretary General of UNCTAD	International
— REUTHER, Walter P. President United Automobile Workers	United States
— ROCKEFELLER, David President Chase Manhattan Bank	United States
SCHILLER, Karl Member of Parliament	Germany
SCHMID, Carlo Vice President Federal Parliament	Germany
— SCHMIDT, Helmut Member of Parliament	Germany
SCHRÖDER, Gerhard Minister of Foreign Affairs	Germany
SCHWARZ, Urs Journalist	Switzerland
SILVA, Manuel R. Espirito Santo Banker	Portugal
SNOY et d'OPPUERS, Baron Managing Partner "Banque Lambert"	Belgium
SPAACK, Paul-Henri Minister of Foreign Affairs	Belgium
— SPOFFORD, Charles M. Lawyer and Diplomat	United States
STOLTENBERG, Gerhard Minister for Science and Research	Germany
— STONE, Shepard Director International Affairs Program, Ford Foundation	United States
TAVERNE, Dick Member of Parliament	United Kingdom
TERKELSEN, Terkel M. Chief Editor "Berlingske Tidende"	Denmark
TINBERGEN, J. Professor of Economics	Netherlands
TUTHILL, John W. U.S. Representative to the European Communities	United States
VITTORELLI, Paolo Senator	Italy
— WALLENBERG, Marcus President International Chamber of Commerce	Sweden
WHEELER, Charles R. Chairman Associated Electrical Industries	United Kingdom
WILLOCH, Kaare Minister of Commerce and Shipping	Norway
WINTERS, R.H. Minister of Trade and Commerce	Canada

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WOLFF von AMERONGEN, Otto Senior Partner Otto Wolff Köln	Germany
—WOODS, George D. President International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	International
WYNDHAM WHITE, Eric Director General GATT	International
ZIJLSTRA, Jelle Professor of Economic Sciences	Netherlands

The Hague, 22 February 1966

P.S.

In case elections in the United Kingdom should prevent the British Members of Parliament mentioned above from attending the Conference, other persons from the United Kingdom will be invited whose names will be mentioned in the definite List of Participants.

Collective veto on nuclear force
 ➡ weighted voted system



Swiss

Europe speaking with one voice is an illusion
 will never happen.

Attitude of France has profoundly changed NATO
 we must think of new solutions.



Reformed NATO on the basis of those
 nations willing to integrate military
 force U.S., U.K., Germany, Belgium,
 Spain.

Denmark

Would like to participate in
 integrated forces. NATO essential



U.K.

Military integration necessary
 but founded on political consensus
 — otherwise in crisis, nations will
 simply opt out.
 — I don't believe in forming
 "in-groups" within NATO

U.K. cont.

Organization in all aspects must
 embrace all nations (leaving seat
 warm for the French.

▶▶ Europe has not got relatively
 stronger. U.S. has. Therefore,
 central strength in NATO is U.S.
 Some of the key organizations of NATO
 must operate in U.S. rather
 than Europe because that's
 where decisions will be
 made — and problems of
 the next 10 years are
 political, rather than military.

Norway

We must accept fact of
american preponderance
in next 10 years.

How can ~~we~~ we
reform our organization
so as to make that
power hear our views better.

Nuclear aspect - recognize
U.S. preponderance. must
work out method by which
other nations may have "a real say"
in strategy.

France

→ Situation has changed in
last 15 years. vis a vis U.S.
It is a mistake to insist on
preponderant U.S. strength.

→ Differences of opinions have
caused U.S. policy to be more
adaptable.

→ Soviet military aggression is not
the same as it was - we must
recognize this & NATO ~~not~~ should

France cont

late political questions in
mind. All problems are not
military.

McCloy

perhaps we should be thankful
to De Gaulle for putting the problem and
challenge on the table and in the
open. We've known we had to,
but we've avoided it.

→ Policy involves return to
systems of Nationalism which in
1914, and before, have been
quite unproductive. I believe this
is very serious. Nationalism stimulates
nationalism.

→ I fear - not so much a return
to isolationist - but that we might
withdraw from complexities of
NATO situation that we might
go back to a "polarist" situation.

When you stress independence, flexibility
and nationalism. You risk going
back to pre-1914 "mish mash".

→ we can very easily go adrift here

if we don't have high degree
of statesmanship & resist
replying to nationalism.

→ another problem is with
peoples of these countries. U.S.
people are confused. In France
the people misunderstand
& seem to believe De Gaulle is
right about "U.S. ordering our
boys around".

De Gaulle says - no longer
very menacing (Arab's effect). I
question that.

But remember, problems are
not only military.

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Problem is not so much military threats as emerging east-west relationship. De Gaulle has had initiative. May revive still-alive European nationalism, while in short-run re-enforces Germany's interest in NATO, may eventually cause Germany's nationalism.

➤ Urgent need for U.S. and NATO to formulate a new east-west relationship (because of Soviet internal changes, changes in East Europe, Sino-Soviet split.)

➤ Must take initiative for with East.

will not be sufficient just to try to preserve institutions

Collection _____ Series _____ Box _____ Folder _____

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➤ Austria
NATO's continued strength a great concern for those who are not members.

Soviet military strength can be discounted for the time being (problems of Soviet previously mentioned) maybe this would have happened anyway - but with strong NATO these things may not happen & definitely not so soon - Because of this infiltration and subversion had to be abandoned. Failure of Berlin takeover worsened Sino-Soviet relations because it forced Soviet back on to coexistence.

U.S. should realize its strength and with self-confidence.

Collection _____ Series _____ Box _____ Folder _____



George Ball

NATO purposes

1. Defense
2. Deterrence
3. Settlement of European problem
(unification of Germany)

→ Combined, unified Command of
military - ready to go, essential

Gurkey



- Don't fragmentize or regionalize
- don't add other outside
matters or try to direct a
concerted foreign policy.

France (opposition)

→ still remains in alliance
but outside organization -
This is difficult to do

→ do not see advantages

8) my government's position.

France now practically
isolated by proper action of 14
nations

Radio detection - will we lose?

Loss of French command of

NATO - What about Germany
(French troops there?)

De Gaulle's reasons

1. Psychological

France would do better
not linked or subordinated
to U.S. command when
military conflict in Asia
may expand and involve
French in war in Far East.
(I don't think this risk exists
because NATO pact has no
competence there)

2. Detente with Soviet Union
will be more active when Atlantic
Union becomes weaker

Force opposition
concluded

(my reply - detente was
result of western union. NATO
was the shield which put
an end to Soviet subversion
fragile beginning of co-existence
is product of atlantic cohesion
— NATO can be source of
dialogue for more flexible
relations with East)

3. Contradiction between sovereignty of states and integration of military force

De Gaulle has emphasized
with to french people for
building separate nuclear force
that U.S. came into WWI in
1917 and WWII in 1941 —

We must point out to
public ~~op~~ opinion that
this need for automaticity is
what NATO can answer

Revival of nationalism is a dangerous
game. No fear now, I trust, but eventually
Germany may become nationalistic also, and
imitate France's desire for a free hand, also.

opposition
France continued

U.S. should please think
in future of strengthening common
management.

I hope Europe will have
greater share in management
and military responsibilities
of the alliance.

Nuclear weapons at heart
of present trouble — we
mustn't just say we're
against proliferation — but
must give Europe more
hand.

NATO should be continued and
I hope France will one
day take up its place
in it.

~~Germany (Socialist)~~

If U.S. came late in
2 wars - why not
keep them here?

also, I'm afraid
French nationalism may lead to
greater nationalism on the part
of Germany.

Integration - means preparation
in peace time for common defense.
also, common strategy in nuclear
field. This is necessary to
maintain credibility of deterrent.
more difficult and expensive, but
necessary, without France.

Belgium



Wider scope for ~~NATO~~ not just
military integration.

We cannot isolate a
treaty or organization to one area
of the world.



Frankel

1. Deterrence no longer is
military on ground but
U.S. nuclear power.

but NATO has other purposes and
usefulness.

GowrieSuggestions for action

1. Use of smaller groups
on a functional or
regional basis

2. Nuclear sharing

- Namara Committee
- Collective Atlantic force
- European force

3. East-West policy

(trade, credit, arms
control, diplomatic activity
and German unity.)

- policy making body on a
continuous basis

I would add (for discussion)

4. Responsibility in other parts
of the world

- developing nation
- containment of
Chinese aggression

Collection _____ Series _____ Box _____ Folder _____

Netherlands

→ France is engaged in
"diplomacy by statement."

→ There will be repercussions in the
common market.

→ There should not be bilateral
dealings with France outside
NATO. Council should be kept in
Paris. Military might
will have to be moved. Should
not be moved to U.S. Nor to U.K.
(latter would give impression that in
conflict mainland might have to
abandon) (not to U.S.
because takes European
defense outside Europe)

→ Must give attention ^{now} to
nuclear attraction, especially
by U.S. and U.K.

→ Difficult to see advantages to
France of their policy which
will tend to produce pre-1914
conditions.

Collection _____ Series _____ Box _____ Folder _____

France (opposition)

our diplomacy is dominated by one man. I see nothing wrong with some bilateral conversations.

Gilpatrick (U.S.)

Nuclear sharing - non-proliferation

no hurry because U.S. & Soviet can go on bilateral pressure and therefore we shouldn't wait on this problem's solution to get at NATO problems.



Holifield

nuclear sharing



What is desired by Germany
if not complete sovereign
control

U.K.

Germany is not represented
at SAC headquarters,
Special Committee of
McNamara is only an
exploratory committee

— this is not enough
to reassure a European
non-nuclear nation.



Germany

→ WE have never asked for control
over nuclear weapons. WE
want to participate in
targeting, nuclear planning —
our say in the decision making
process.

→ WE doubt the McNamara committee
can give us sufficient weight.

Erlor (Socialist)

Reunification of Germany
would be such a major change
in world politics, I am
convinced it cannot come
about except with major
political, nuclear & military
changes toward nuclear
disarmament.

■ But need more sharing
of control on this continents
more cooperation.





Morse



Nuclear proliferation

NATO can have new meaning by helping to solve this.



U.S.

Bowie

Nuclear control

Most Europeans want to have more than information as grace. They want to be in on things as a matter of right.

If (U.S. & France) get special standing in NATO because they have nuclear weapons → then other nations sooner or later will demand such weapons.



In answer to Holifield
Italy (Secy General Monty)
What about a European
nuclear force with U.S. veto?
Couldn't U.S. come up with
such a suggestion & pass
it through their Congress.

Canada

We do not wish nor intend
to produce nuclear weapons,
though we have the power to do
so — This should not stand
in the way of expanding peaceful
use of nuclear power.

① → we reaffirm our support of
NATO which still has 15 members.

② Let's keep alliance together
③ & strengthen & make it
more effective — we need
more political consultation
to promote political unity,
(we must remember it was not to
be a world-wide political
instrument) limited to geographic
concept. (Speaking Pearson's position)

Reuther

There is ~~here~~ overemphasis on mechanics.

NATO is in trouble because
common fears are reduced.
Success

⇒ WE need a new sense
1) historic purpose

What's unfinished job
1) Atlantic Community?
— building community
1) peace.

⇒ nationalism is dangerous

Harris

much has been said ^{countries act general on their own self interest} about unfortunate isolation of U.S.

must be kept
for defense & deterrence
(unified military machinery)
dialogue ~~offensive~~

NATO must not be
isolationist
nor militaristic

I hope I
will not
opend
- but I'm not
talking about
becoming more
involved in
preventing wars

I hope
conflicting
interests
specially
those matters
we should
talk about

1. greater detente
with Soviet union
& Eastern Europe. (expanding its machinery for political dialogue & policy making)
(can do this multilaterally)
2. Greater involvement
with the
developing world

alliances must
respond to real
desires
real desires


we are rich & we are
strong
social world obligation

we should not be bound by what
we are against alone.

1. greater detente with Russia
& the Eastern world

2. preventing causes of war in the
third world

All countries, including
France, will see ~~NATO~~
Atlantic alliance as once again
serving their most vital interests



de Santo Silva

Comment on statements of Sen. Harris
on expansion of NATO to matters of
other parts of the world

Success of NATO has made
potential enemies more active
in other parts of the world. NATO
members should show more
understanding of members' problems
in other parts of the world. This
would should NATO solidarity.

Nuclear control

Tutthill (U.S.)

Walter Reuther — "The idealists are the
pragmatists of our day?"



agree with Murphy, Duffin
' Secy-General of NATO — we
should concentrate on NATO's
original mission as a
military alliance.

aid to developing
countries should not be a
role of NATO, but of other existing
agencies.

neither of helping with
detente is not NATO's role.
Detente is not helped but
made more difficult by
Francis' action. NATO has already
been a strong instrument
of detente.

Portugal

Involvement in other parts of
the world and make common
approach to Eastern Europe and
Soviet Union. Should not
overload NATO in other parts of
the world.

1. Shouldn't get involved for
Portugal in Angola. NATO has enough
to do.

2. Shouldn't make new approach
to East — because it would be unsuccessful
because it has military image. Countries

Portugal cont.

should be free to make its own
approaches through its best
channels.

De Santo Silva (Portugal)

I don't think NATO should get
involved in problems of Angola. What
I would like is NATO members
to have a better understanding
and some kind of moral
solidarity on these problems
which involve western
civilization.

Canadian

nuclear power

Couldn't this be studied by NATO
Councils ~~now~~ France has made it
impossible to make much headway
there - But, now, couldn't the
remaining 14 make some progress.

Ambassador McFhee

1. Greatest threat to future of NATO lies in distrust or fear of Federal Republic. Germany should be allowed to make its case.

De Gaulle's action increases Germany's role. we mustn't make Germany a second class member of the Alliance

2. Scope of NATO - Sen. Harris said Europe must guard against isolation. U.S. is now involved. Soviets and Communist Chinese are global. ~~Europe~~ We are the only ones taking full world view. Europeans could help along side us. If nations of Europeans individually and their collective agency doesn't take part, a great gap is created in western defense.

What about peace-keeping effort under aegis of NATO? Why not?

Cong. Holifield nuclear

Special McNara Committee has possibilities for solving the problem. Support and encouragement of 14 members will largely determine developments.

NATO was in disarray for several years before De Gaulle. It had not perfected its procedures. Let us agree upon its defense and war plans. If we can't do this in times of peace - there is small chance for NATO to be an effective shield in times of war. If we can't do this, there is little reason to pour into it our most precious ~~secret and~~ weapons.

Netherlands

on the whole the U.S. has been free of the "Big Power Complex" but in this instance, they seem to exhibit it. WE must have a greater spirit of equality and sharing among all NATO members.

Holifield Nuclear

By charge of law and otherwise, we've given much (listed) classified information and technical knowledge to NATO allies — all except info necessary or useful to construction of nuclear weapons or submarine. This is not antagonistic, but against proliferation and counter espionage and the risks involved, in U.S. as well as in NATO member countries.

More amendment of McMahon act highly unlikely and any proposed nuclear sharing must come within framework of present law.

U.K. - Nato's role in keeping peace in world is attractive, but not very practical.

→ we don't have the ships and hardware to do so — even if it were politically advisable to do so.

→ I think there is resistance in developing world to NATO as policeman (such as in Cyprus) —

I believe this is role of U.N. and its decline worse than De Gaulle's action.



U. R.



Europe's world should not be as a blood donor in the developing world.

McThee



Europe has forces. U.S. has transport.

I don't see how a group of people in the world with economic and other potential power can refuse to play a world role — and NATO Council can serve as forum.

Holifield

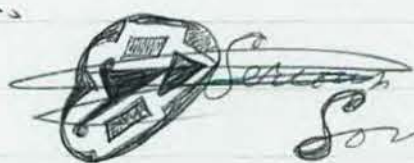
I disagree with Cong. Morse (Rep.) as Chm. of Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and member of the Majority Party.

We've modified McMahon Act on a number of occasions — 3 times in regard to NATO. I wouldn't want to leave impression that Congress would not look on McMahon Act as dead letter, but as living, breathing thing.

France opposition)

Quotes Lippman for prockially
appropriating De Gaulle's position.
because ~~balance~~ equilibrium of
power is established by U.S.

France is to get most
of advantages geography ~~not~~ allow
it.



also

Soviet Union believes
France's independence is a
bad example for the countries of
Eastern Europe.

Johnson (U.S.)

I think McGhee's position is
not as good as Buchanan's ^(U.K.) about
U.N.'s role —

but one of problems in
U.N. is that every one has a
block except Atlantic
community — this lack of
unity in U.N. among us
is striking. We do not concert
our policies in U.N. ~~as much~~
nearly as much as we can
and we should. we ought
to do a better job than we can.

McGhee

U.N. has done excellent work in peace-keeping, though there's been some disillusionment - But it's axiomatic that it can't function in cold ~~war~~ war situation.

U.S. won't forever do it alone.

Prince Bernhard

Consensus NATO should be maintained as an alliance and as an organization.

agree

Soviet posture has changed since creation. over aggression is not expected. But if NATO disappeared there would be a very dangerous situation, at least new Soviet expansionist policy military integration should be continued.

General and strong desire to avoid further alienation of France and keep door open - But to strengthen & maintain NATO in spite of French action

HRH conf.

not solved

Should we ~~not~~ use present situation to adopt and adjust and leave more fundamental changes to a later period.

The effort to keep going is already a hard enough goal without adding more problems.

not solved questions:

1. Stronger policies and integration - for some nations even though all don't ~~not~~ want to.

Large opinion that NATO is essentially a security pact.

Large opinion that smaller groups should be avoided.

2. Nuclear sharing

enormous discrepancies in strength between U.S. and Europe. Strong desire of Europe for stronger voice in all decisions involving nuclear power. Disappointed no more concrete proposals.

for Cong. Holifield's questions as to how this may be done.

3. no answer whether

just security or stronger effort for common posture vis a vis the outside world.

Sir Andrew

Widening gap between developing & developed nations is dangerous, not only because it threatens the stability of the world, but also because it is an affront to our consciences.

needs (between donors)

1. Arrangements & recipients for effectiveness (World Bank & ~~other~~ other international organizations. Proper domestic policies more important than amounts. (otherwise disappointment & frustration ~~occurs~~ occurs for recipients, but more importantly for donors, which are liable to result in reduction. We must not be woolly-headed about this for fear of neo-colonialism. We don't have the right not to do this) International organizations can impose conditions easier, but majority of aid will continue to be bilateral for the foreseeable future.

2. Donors must work together much more closely with coherent plans for working out priorities. U.S. has anti-scatterization policy but we need this on cooperative basis among us all.

① OECD Development
 assistant Committee must
 be made more of than we have
 to date. This is the means
 by which the Atlantic Community
 could do more together in
 aid.

② More attention to technical
 assistance, training, transfer of
 know-how. Bound to be effective
 and successful. U.K. ~~has~~ has
 given absolute priority here and
 were expanding. (Has advantages
 of course, of being chiefest).

3. Concentrate on points of
 breakthrough in science & technology,
 desalinization, pest control,
 above all: population control. Latter
 is an important form of aid.

4. Support International aid
 Programs. (will by 1970 have gone
 from 14% to 18% of the gross aid total)

International Development
 Association funds must be
 replenish shortly - U.N. ^(development) program
 must be supported

World Bank must continue to be in a
 leadership program.

my questions

What percentage of
GDP or other measure
are 15 NATO members
devoting to aid.

What about China and
Soviet Union? Japan?

White (CATT)

EEC is not coming
to grips with
their responsibility
with impending failure
in Kennedy round.

aid is not matter of philanthropy.
It ought to be considered as a
matter of national interest, an
integral part of national policy.

developing



Greater cohesion & building
on Article 2 or some other
solution — or else

"common bat will continue
to spring leaks & perhaps be
hopelessly wrecked"

— paraphrasing Lincoln — "the world
cannot long endure half rich
and half poor, particularly
if the rich are getting richer
and the poor are getting poorer."

Property

Federal Republican

1. Integration essential

→ reform of NATO necessary

A. European unification

B. European voice increase even before unity

C. Reform for more facile joint action

D. Change in military & nuclear control

(we accept non-proliferation

but we want participation

in every decision-making stage

→ collective system

- U.S. veto

- European veto

→ more participation in crisis management - disarmament agreement

Better monetary system

Better coordination & aid to underdeveloped world.